EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE Nation

October 15, 1955 / 20c

OPIUM TRADE

Is China Responsible? . . . *by John O'Kearney*

Burgess-Maclean Case

by Andrew Roth

Geneva on 42nd Street

by Harold Greer

Crime in Your Parlor

by Al Toffler

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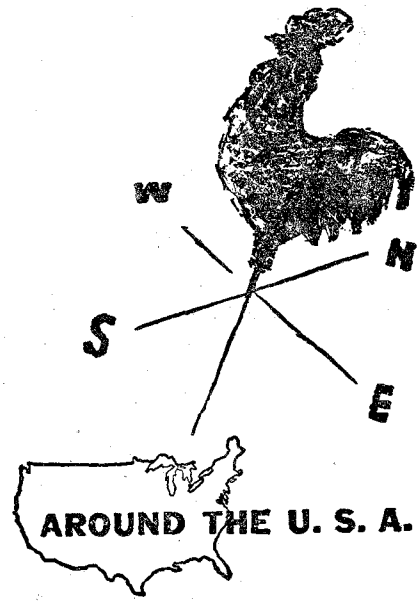

Baccalaureates In Strike-Breaking

New Orleans

FOR eleven weeks this spring, an impressive majority of the 60,000 employees of the Southern Bell Telephone Company waged a strike against the company in nine Southern states. As members of the Communications Workers of America—C. I. O., the telephone workers maintained picket lines and effective strike activity in what is regarded as the anti-labor stronghold of the nation: the Deep South.

There were two aspects of the strike which might furnish clues to the development of community attitudes toward trade unionism. First, there was more general support for the strikers in this conflict than in any other strike in Dixie history. Second, and in some contrast, the company found a new and large-scale source of workers to cross the union's picket lines: the college campus.

"We had no idea, when we went on strike March 14, that such terrific support would develop from other labor organizations and from the public," said W. A. Smallwood, district director for the C. W. A.-C. I. O. in the Southern Bell territory. "Somehow our strike caught the imagination of the people." Expressions and acts of cooperation and encouragement came from public officials, private citizens, and from labor organizations that had previously not dared even to make their existence known in the community. On the floor of the United States Senate, in the City Council of New Orleans, among sympathy-striking steelworkers in Birmingham, and from carpenters in Memphis, came resolutions in support of the union. In Americus, Georgia, pickets were invited to use the home of the mayor, next to the telephone building, as strike headquarters. In Slidell, Louisiana, a local merchant put up an awning to protect the strikers from the hot Southern sun. Many of the communities that showed cooperative understanding of the strikers in the Southern Bell strike of 1955 are towns that two or five or ten years ago had run union organizers out of town at gunpoint.

Southern Bell managed to maintain skeletal service during the strike, drawing partly on regular employees and partly on supervisory workers from "other" telephone companies. But this time the company also used several thousand students from colleges and universities all over the South who proved willing to cross picket lines.

NEARLY three-hundred Tulane University students maintained manual switchboards in New Orleans. Football players led crowds of Mississippi Southern students across the lines, jeering the pickets. Georgia Tech, the University of Alabama, Auburn, and Louisiana State University became prime recruiting grounds for strike-breaking. It was not a haphazard enlistment program. In the very first days of the walkout, enough students began working the exchanges to convince union officials that a well-planned effort had been underway for some time before the strike began—almost necessarily with the cooperation of some teachers or leaders of the university communities.

Of course the hourly wage the strike-breaking students received from Southern Bell (won over years of bitter union struggle) was generally higher than they could have made elsewhere in their communities. Southern students, further, must represent a conservative segment of the most conservative area in the nation. These facts are not new, nor is the use of colleges to promote corporate interests. After all, the amount of money that companies are spending in educational institutions is large and growing larger, and has always been a significant factor in the budgets of private schools. What is significant here is the fact that the student's strike-breaking activities created no apparent opposition from within the schools themselves. It is easy to imagine the indignation that would have been generated on the campuses of the 1930's in like circumstances.

Many observers feel that what happened is a reflection of the general suppression of "left-wing" (in the old sense of the term) opinions on the campus. Or, with some contradiction, it is said that trade unionism, having become powerful and institutionalized in contrast to the depression years, no longer draws the support of the "radicals" of the campus. The fact that college-trained young men and women who seek jobs with labor organizations have considerably diminished in number in recent years supports the latter point.

Trade-union satisfaction with the growth of a more balanced economic sentiment in the South must be tempered with concern over the kind of educational process which gives a new cast to our campuses.

JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Those Runaway Diplomats

Vladimir Petrov's account for *U. S. News and World Report* (September 23) of how "the missing diplomats," Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, fled from London to Moscow weighted down with top Anglo-American secrets has been a godsend to American right-wing commentators and columnists deeply concerned with mounting criticism of the Administration's security system (see Andrew Roth's article on page 318.) The latest Petrov disclosure is pure hearsay, of the overly-ripe variety, but almost any variation can be played on it by simply suggesting that the published report of the Australian Royal Commission does not set forth everything the commission learned. Apart from the Petrov fillip, the case has invaluable elements for a right-wing propaganda triumph, involving as it does homosexuals, perfidious Albion (Labor and Tory), striped-pants diplomacy, and Cambridge-educated traitors. Aided by the fact that the British Foreign Office did adopt a strangely—in some respects a suspiciously—lackadaisical attitude toward the antics of Burgess and Maclean, who seem to have behaved like well-rehearsed actors cast in the role of double-agents, the myth-makers have been conducting a nicely orchestrated campaign with special solo parts contributed by Rebecca West and David Lawrence.

Miss West, who has contributed a Hitchcock scenario to the Hearst press, suggests that there is "a third man," unnamed in the case, as well as a mysterious organization, also unnamed. To Mr. Lawrence the case "proves" that inquiries into the moral habits of government employees are justified and that guilt can be established by kinship and association. In his view, Maclean and Burgess must be "credited with costing the United States the war in Korea," although Maclean did not take over the American desk in the Foreign Office until one day after—not eighteen days before, as *U. S. News and World Report* would have it—the Chinese launched their attack in Korea. Now, of course, Senator Eastland wants to know if Burgess and Maclean did not, perhaps, induce the Chinese to cross the Yalu. In short, another "who-lost-China" shouting contest impends with Burgess and Maclean serving as stand-ins for Chambers and Hiss.

Renewed interest in this fascinating case should not be permitted to detract from the force of former Senator Harry P. Cain's recent comment (he is now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board) that the Administration's security program has worked "a permanent and grievous injury to our society." There is nothing in the Petrov disclosures or the British White Paper that robs this criticism of its force; quite the contrary. As Mr. Roth points out, the tough Soviet security system did not prevent the defection of Petrov any more than British intelligence, always highly rated, prevented the escape of Burgess and Maclean. The real danger comes not from occasional instances of misplaced confidence but from police-state methods which free societies can adopt, in Mr. Cain's phrase, only with "the certain loss of their reason for being and to the detriment of their vitality and ability to withstand aggression."

"Wir Sind Wieder Da!"

Several disquieting developments have already emerged out of the political campaign now going on in the Saar preparatory to the popular referendum to be held there on October 23. The pro-German parties in the territory have shown surprising strength and a not-so-surprising affinity for Nazi-style propaganda tactics. The referendum was arranged for in the Franco-German agreement of October 23 last year, to which Chancellor Adenauer and Mendes-France, then premier of France, put their signatures. Its purpose is to give the people of the Saar an opportunity to ratify, or to repudiate, the European status foreseen for the territory. France and the Bonn Republic engaged themselves not to interfere in any way with the ballot or with the political campaign leading up to it. But Bonn has not kept its word. The Federal Republic is financing, to a great extent, the Saar pro-German parties.

In the meantime pro-German extremists are conducting an electoral campaign which in its chauvinism and anti-French and anti-European character transcends the bounds of decency. "Wir sind wieder da!"—"we are there again!"—was the caption which a Saar German-language newspaper ran under the picture of some of the pro-German leaders, who were clad in uniforms almost identical with those of Hitler's SS troops. Nor has it been a war of words only. The European Commission for the Referendum in the Saar has been examining case after case of violence charged against pro-German "shock troops" in the region. The outlook for approval of "Europeanization" has become so dim that there is talk of postponing the vote.

Meanwhile reliable reports say that Adenauer has chosen, as Bonn's future Ambassador to Moscow, Prince

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Bismarck, who was Hitler's Director of Political Affairs in the German Foreign Office from 1937 to 1940 and served as minister plenipotentiary in Rome from 1940 to 1943. "Wir sind wieder da," indeed.

"Pass a Law"

Al Toffler's article in this issue (p. 323) calls attention to the inexcusably half-hearted efforts of the television networks to improve the quality of their programs for young viewers and to their elaborate but misleading attempts to convince the public that corrective measures have been taken. The reminder is timely. But we do not share the assumption that regulatory action by the Federal Communications Commission is called for. Ward Moore's comments on similar proposals for censorship of comic books (*The Nation,* May 15, 1954) voice our objections to "pass-a-law" solutions for problems of this kind. "No matter how menacing comic books are, censorship—even disguised as regulation—is more menacing. Further, it is an invocation of government in fields where it can do only harm. But is the individual competent to deal with the comic books? Perhaps not on the I-forbid-you-to-bring-this-trash-into-the-house level. But social gains . . . are not made only through government action or single-handed defiance. . . . Whatever the solution . . . the first step is for parents and psychiatrists to discover the comic books." He might have added: also sociologists and other social scientists. Perhaps part of the answer lies in the direction of devising ways and means by which better programs for young viewers can be presented. Efforts to prevent children from watching certain programs are not likely to be effective; indeed they may only advertise the program. What is needed are lively, interesting shows. Most of the crime-and-violence programs are neither lively nor interesting but dull and moronic. Better programs could easily capture this large viewing audience.

New Staff Contributor

Harvey O'Connor, a familiar name to *Nation* readers, has been added to our list of staff contributors. After some years residence in the East, Mr. O'Connor recently returned to Chicago, his former home, from which vantage point he will keep an eye on the Midwest scene for *The Nation* as well as inform our readers on significant developments in the American labor movement. Mr. O'Connor is one of the country's best known and most widely respected labor reporters. He served as editor of the nation's first trade-union daily, the Seattle *Union Record* (1919-1924), and later as editor and publicity director for the Oil Workers International Union—C. I. O. (1945-1948), of which he is still a member. His books include: "Mellon's Millions," "Steel-Dictator," "The Guggenheims," "The Astors," "History of the Oil Workers International Union," and, as co-editor, "Civil Liberties in Illinois."

Fiasco in France

Paris, October 10

THE FRENCH parliament has given Premier Faure a technical vote of support for his North Africa policy. How long the support will last depends upon how fast the Premier can move to make the policy a reality.

Faure has undoubtedly been a victim of his own attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable. His conciliatory efforts have been sabotaged regularly by the French military in Morocco who, like their mentor, Marshal Juin, believe in the strong hand. Thus Gilbert Grandval, sent by Faure to replace the weak Lacoste as Resident General of Morocco in an attempt to "liberalize" French policy, lasted only a few months. Now Grandval's successor, General Boyer de la Tour, has subscribed to a virtual sabotage of the government's plan for ousting the puppet Sultan, Ben Arafa, anathema of most Moroccan nationalists. Ben Arafa is out, it is true, but his seal of office was handed over to an obscure cousin instead of to a regency council as had been agreed upon only a month before.

Canard Enchaine, the vitriolic Paris journal, hit the bull's-eye with sly accuracy. A recent issue carried banner headlines: "Head of the Government Abandons Power to the Army," adding in microscopic type, "In Argentina, of course."

A bewildered French public watches anxiously as an increasing number of troops are dispatched to Morocco and Algeria, presaging further bloodshed. Most observers here were not surprised when the General Assembly voted, in an almost unprecedented defiance of its steering committee, to include the Algerian item on the agenda. Knowledgeable people tend to ascribe France's defeat to the country's loss of international prestige. How could things be otherwise, they ask, when the absurd figure of Antoine Pinay is found at the head of French diplomacy?

Le Monde, influential daily, called the Assembly vote an "affront" to France and demanded that the U. N. adopt a two-thirds-majority voting rule. The newspaper declared it "grotesque" that France should be the victim of a coalition of "Soviet, Latin-American, and Middle East despots." But, like other influential spokesmen in France, its editors hope that a face-saving device will be found which will enable the French delegation to return to the Assembly.

The need for a strong government here is felt keenly, but it is recognized that a Gaullist regime would inevitably be colonialist, while a Mendes-France government might run into the same kind of defiance as has Faure's. What might work wonders is a joint Anglo-American declaration of readiness to support a liberal French policy in North Africa. Such "interference" in France's domestic affairs would not be resented by the French; on the contrary, it would probably be greatly welcomed by a people who have lost faith both in the Faure government and in the North African military junta.

ALEXANDER WERTH

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GENEVA ON 42nd STREET

A Spirit Haunts the U. N. . . . *by Harold Greer*

United Nations

WHATEVER its other accomplishments, the tenth General Assembly has in three weeks established a record for sheer hard luck which few of its predecessors can equal. It was born handicapped by demands that it live up to the spirit of Geneva, a mystical standard of conduct which was not explained and which it did not understand. Then President Eisenhower, the oracle who had pointed the way to the new order of things, was suddenly removed from further effective leadership by an unfortunate heart attack. Finally, the Assembly itself, confused and lost in this strange new world, so forgot its own techniques that it took the unprecedented step of rejecting the recommendation of its steering committee against inclusion of the Algerian question on its agenda, thereby driving the French delegation from the great chamber.

Certainly, the tenth session was in fit state for some such cold-water treatment, however one may wish it might have come in a milder form. For two weeks, the general debate labored under the fantastic notion that the message from Geneva was roughly equivalent to the Sermon on the Mount. The "spirit of Geneva" became Alpha and Omega in the diplomatic lexicon; in the closed disarmament committee negotiations Harold E. Stassen actually invented a new calendar in which disarmament proposals were either "pre-Geneva" (unfavorable) of "post-Geneva" (favorable). There was even a suggestion, from Canada's Paul Martin, that rather than upset the budding *rapproachement* between the great powers, the rest of the Assembly might well forget about the business at hand for the time being. Unfortunately, this seems to be precisely what happened on Algeria; nobody bothered to do the legwork which would have revealed the possibility that the steering committee might be reversed and which would surely have led to the delaying tactics and the behind-the-scenes compromises customary in such situations.

This is not to say that the Geneva spirit is completely phony or that the two great protagonists of East and West are not seeking a *rapprochement* of sorts. There was indeed an agreement reached at Geneva. It was put on paper in the form of a directive for the Big Four foreign ministers when they return to Geneva this month. The United Nations problem has been to reconcile this directive with what the Big Three Western powers, and especially the United States, have said and done about it at New York.

IT IS rather difficult, for example, for a delegate to act in the spirit of Geneva when he hears Mr. Dulles report that the Big Four agreed at the summit to give priority at the foreign ministers' meeting to the "closely linked problem of the reunification of Germany and the problem of European security." The directive does not say this. It recognizes the close link between the two questions but it says nothing about priority, which is simply implied in the listing of items for discussion. The first heading on the agenda reads "European security and Germany," rather than the other way round, and its first paragraph, setting out various proposals to be considered in establishing European security, omits German unification. The second paragraph, however, says pointedly that German unification must be carried out in "the interests of European security," which is what Russia has been saying all along. Mr. Molotov did not labor in the drafting committee at Geneva for nothing.

Similarly, the Geneva directive committed the Big Four to develop "an acceptable system of disarmament" through the U. N. disarmament subcommittee and to instruct their representatives there "to take account . . . of the views and proposals" advanced on the summit. This obviously means the lengthy Soviet proposal of last May 10 (the only addition Premier Bulganin made to it at Geneva was a limitation of 150,000 to 200,000 men for the armed forces for the middle and lesser powers—i. e., for West Germany) as well as President Eisenhower's bilateral scheme for aerial reconnaissance and exchange of military blueprints. But one of Mr. Stassen's first acts in the resumed negotiations was to announce that the United States was reserving its position on everything that had been agreed to before Geneva. The subcommittee's first task, he said, was to get agreement on the Eisenhower proposal—which he admitted was not a disarmament proposal at all—and then the United States would see what it would see.

On the one hand, the United Nations was told, everything had changed; "a new spirit does indeed prevail," Mr. Dulles declared. But on the other hand, it saw that nothing had changed. Enjoined to translate "into practical facts . . . what in Geneva was an atmosphere and a philosophy," to quote Secretary-General Hammarskjold, the General Assembly simply developed an acute case of schizophrenia that came to a crisis over Algeria. The traditional obligation of diplomacy to avert crises was forgotten; the United States, undergoing a basic revision of its attitude on "colonial" issues, voted with France but neglected to bring its Latin-American bloc into line. Enough of the Latin Americans joined with the Arab-Asian and Soviet blocs to beat the steering committee's recommendation, 28 to 27.

The Communist vote, however consistent it may be with past Soviet policy on colonialism, is of course a clear indication of what the Kremlin

HAROLD GREER, Washington correspondent for the Toronto Star, *covers the United Nations regularly.*

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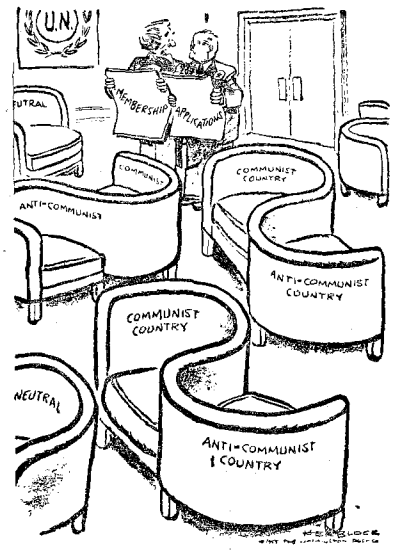
really thinks of the Geneva spirit when the chips are down. It has been displaying the same attitude—someone has called it the "smiling *nyet*"—in private negotiations on two other matters vital to the United Nations: the admission of new members and the establishment of a U. N. atomic-energy agency. In both cases thus far, it has declined to turn the key that would open the door to agreement.

The key on admissions is Japan. Mr. Molotov at the U. N. celebrations in San Francisco this summer made several overtures to break the deadlock that has existed on new members since 1950. All of them were "package" or quid pro quo arrangements, but one of them at least came close to recognizing the principle of universality of membership in the United Nations without raising the difficult questions of Communist China (which Moscow recognizes as a question of representation rather than membership) and the divided countries. According to the Molotov suggestion, Austria, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Finland, Ceylon, Jordan, Nepal, Libya, Laos, Cambodia, Outer Mongolia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and Albania could all be admitted simultaneously. This was an important concession by the Soviet Union and the Canadian government quickly took the matter up with Washington see if the United States would drop its policy that each application be considered on its merits.

ANXIOUS to maintain support for its present opposition to Chinese Communist representation and to give some indication that it will not try to keep Peking out of the United Nations forever, Washington gave its qualified assent—the proviso being that Japan must be included in the deal. When the Canadian representatives took this up with the Russians in New York, they were told it was hardly possible, since the Soviet Union has not yet signed a peace treaty with Japan.

Similarly, the Soviet Union's announcement at Geneva that it would contribute fissionable material to the U. N. atomic-energy agency once it was established encouraged many to hope that it would assist in bringing the agency into being. But Russia has continued to insist that the agency be made responsible to the Security Council and hence to the Soviet veto.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Shall we open the doors now?"

What, then, is the outlook for this Assembly? There is, surely, little room for optimism. The French retirement, following hard upon the President's heart attack, will inevitably force the Soviet Union to pause and consider. It has now alienated the most susceptible target for its peace campaign; it has now lost the one man in the United States with whom it was prepared to do business. These are overriding considerations which will affect every move the Kremlin makes.

Assuredly, there is going to be an atomic-energy agency regardless of Russian opposition. But it will be more of a post office (American officials, indeed, compare it to the International Postal Union) than a bank, and hardly the powerful organ the world needs to store, control, and allocate fissionable material in an age when everyone will soon be able to make his own atomic bombs. The admissions question has now been horribly complicated by the application for membership from Spain. Russia, it was felt, would have accepted Japan providing a peace treaty could be signed this year. But there is no hope that it will accept Spain, and the announcement of American support for the Spanish application—despite a still extant Assembly resolution opposing Spain's entry as long as Franco is in power—can only lead to suspicions that the United States does not intend to accept a package deal after all.

On disarmament, the Soviet Union has made the mistake of taking the Eisenhower "open sky" proposal seriously, instead of treating it as the challenge and token of good faith it was meant to be. As an inspection system to warn again surprise attack, the idea is of course a military absurdity unless it is part of a more comprehensive scheme. Russia has therefore argued that it should be fitted in with the May 10 proposal and should be followed up with a genuine disarmament program, since surprise attacks are much less likely to occur if the military establishments necessary for their launching are substantially reduced. This was essentially the point of Premier Bulganin's letter and the United States must answer it. But because the answer goes to the fundamentals of American policy, only the President can answer and he is in no condition to do so.

THE TENTH Assembly began with high expectations. One year before, the United Nations was at its lowest point of influence on international affairs, by-passed on issues which were negotiable, the repository of issues which were not. A variety of factors—the San Francisco anniversary, Mr. Hammarskjold's success with the American prisoners in China, the atoms-for-peace conference in Geneva—restored its prestige and its self-confidence. The Charter requirement that the tenth Assembly study the question of Charter review, while generating no hope for important revisions in the Charter itself, at least led to widespread self-criticism. The United States, in particular, let it be known that it was ready to agree that the United Nations was being overloaded with inflammatory colonial issues about which it could do virtually nothing and that it intended in the future to judge such questions on the basis of whether U. N. debate would do more harm than good. Realistic attempts were initiated to solve the membership question, which drains the organization's vitality like a cancer. The two more important issues of the times—disarmament and the peaceful exploitation of the atom—became active subjects of U. N. responsibility.

Against this beginning, the ill-starred tenth session seems destined to be a colossal disappointment.

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CANADA AIDS THE AGED

The Uniform Pension Plan . . *by Jay G. Sykes*

SEVERAL MONTHS ago Dr. Lawrence Kolb, former United States Assistant Surgeon General, announced that an increasing number of aged persons are being committed to mental hospitals throughout the country solely because they have no means of support and no other place to go. The announcement, substantiated by a similar finding by a New York State legislative committee, points up the problem of providing economic security for dependent, unproductive old age. Although our national income and industrial production are at an all-time high, millions of elderly people are ill-housed, undernourished, and in need of medical care they cannot afford. Of the some 14,000,000 persons over 65 in the United States, almost half depend either on public-assistance funds or federal old-age and survivors insurance. The average monthly per capita income from both averages $50.

Faced with a comparable problem, Canada adopted on January 1, 1952, the so-called universal old-age pension system used theretofore only by Sweden and New Zealand. Every man and woman reaching the age of seventy who has resided in Canada for twenty years is eligible for a federal pension of $40 a month. The pension is paid irrespective of need or of any record of prior earnings.

The plan is the outcome of exhaustive investigations by a joint committee of the Canadian Parliament which included members of all major political parties. The findings have obvious relevance for the United States. The committee first considered the "means"'-test type of assistance now prevalent in the United States and then in force in Canada's provinces. It soon found out that it was unnecessary to make costly and unpleasant inquiries to prove what was already known—that the need for financial assistance among Canada's aged was almost universal. In a modern, wage-earning society, the committee reported, it is not possible for the average worker to save enough during his lifetime to take care of his old age. But the committee's rejection of the "means" test was based primarily on humanitarian grounds. The procedures involved, nearly all witnesses before the committee agreed, stamped the beneficiary with the stigma of indigence, penalized thrift, and was often a humiliating experience for the applicant.

The committee then turned to a consideration of a social-insurance system under which eligibility and amount of benefit would be related to earnings, as in the federal social-security system in the United States. While recognizing its merits, the committee thought it preferable to have benefits that were uniform and universal. The administrative burden required by a social-insurance system involving beneficiaries' contributions was, the committee felt, both undesirable and unnecessary. For it could be assumed that any person reaching the age of seventy after twenty years residence in Canada has already made a fair contribution to the productive life of the nation and to its tax revenues.

The committee therefore unanimously recommended that Canada adopt a flat-rate universal non-contributory pension, a program which, despite its unorthodoxy, had been favored by such diverse groups as the Trades and Labor Congress, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Welfare Council, and the Canadian Life Insurance Association. Parliament accepted the proposal with but one dissenting vote. Six weeks later, the first payments were made and today nearly 750,000 men and women receive their monthly checks. (In the three Western provinces, supplemental grants ranging from $2.50 to $15 are paid if need is established.)

The system's few opponents argued that it was inequitable and wasteful to pay money to those who did not need it. A survey was recently conducted in the city of Victoria to determine the effect of the pension on the recipient's standard of living. Fifty pensioners between the ages of 72 and 76, all of whom had been ineligible for assistance under the pre-1952 "means" test, and were therefore theoretically not in need, were interviewed. Twenty-one of the fifty reported they were able to improve their housing; eighteen reported better medical care; eight wore better clothing; thirteen enjoyed more recreation; nine traveled more. "Other" improvements were reported by nineteen. Most said there had been improvement in more than one of these categories. Only five of the fifty said the pensions had not improved their living conditions. At least three persons were found to be eligible for the province's supplemental grant.

THE administration of the new program is simple and inexpensive. There is no need to compile and maintain vast, complex individual contribution records or to compute individual benefits, as required by the United States old-age and survivors' insurance plan. (O. A. S. I.), nor is there any longer a need to make continuing investigations of the resources of beneficiaries as under the old "means"-test program. Administrative costs for old-age pensions and family allowances (Canada's "baby bonus"), which are jointly administered, are about 83 cents for every $100 disbursed. This compares with $6.82 for the American O. A. S. I. program and $5.30 for American public-assistance outlays.

The program is supposed to be paid for out of current revenue. To finance it, Parliament enacted a 2 per cent increase in each of three existing taxes: the corporation tax, the manufacturer's sales tax, and

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the net-income tax. The increase is limited to $60 yearly. But the universal pensions are expensive. Annual benefits are now close to $350,000,000 (in terms of United States population, the figure would be over $3,500,000,000). "No one would favor such a program," the committee's report to Parliament stated, "if they had any fears that the cost would be more than the people were willing to pay, or if they were not deeply convinced that the Canadian people were not firm in their desire to achieve for our aged people the ends of social justice."

The program has, in fact, proven more costly than anticipated. The three specially earmarked taxes have not been enough to enable the Old Age Security Fund to pay for the pensions. In the past three fiscal years, the fund has had to "borrow" from "consolidated revenue" (Canada's general fund) $99,000,000, $55,000,000 and $62,000,000 respectively.

Despite this substantial deficit, there is no movement toward curtailment of the program. On the contrary, the pressure has been for liberalization. Last year the four major national labor organizations urged that the age of eligibility be set at sixty-five for men and sixty for women. Two groups wanted the pensions increased to $65, the other two to $50. The Ontario Federation of Labor, in annual convention, recently resolved that "$40 was plainly inadequate for the maintenance of independence and self-respect."

THE IDEA of a flat, pay-as-you-go, universal pension is not new to the United States. In the 1930's the Townsend Plan attracted national attention, but with the adoption of the old-age security program in 1935, it was all but consigned to the limbo of political nostrums. And yet as late as 1945 in Oregon a scheme that would have paid a flat $60 per month out of a gross-income tax was defeated by only 29,000 votes out of a total of 380,000. In 1950, the Senate appropriated $25,000 for a two-year study of the possibilities of a universal, pay-as-you-go program. The study has not yet been made. In the past session of Congress, a modified Townsend Plan reappeared in the form of HR 4471. With sixty cosponsors, this plan would pay to all retired persons over sixty uniform pensions, free of a means test, with monthly benefits to come out of revenues from a 2 per cent tax on all gross incomes over $250 a month. The benefits, paid equally to all recipients, would be recomputed each month. Proponents have calculated that in 1953, under this plan, each recipient would have received a monthly pension averaging $138.45.

As medical science increases longevity and inflation continues to reduce the purchasing power of those living on fixed incomes, the problem of old-age security becomes more acute. The magnitude of the problem—by 1975, over 21,000,000 Americans will be over 65—requires a thorough examination of our entire social-security structure. Canada's bold venture might be the starting point for such an inquiry.

BURGESS-MACLEAN CASE

Windfall for Reaction . . *by Andrew Roth*

London

REACTION here to the new disclosures about Burgess and Maclean, the British diplomats who defected to the Russians, show that a McCarthyite type of hysteria is not an American monopoly. Britons are behaving much the way Americans did in 1951 during the famous Alger Hiss case.

Most Britons feel strongly, and with some justification, that the Burgess-Maclean affair has revealed a weakness in the counter-espionage branch of the security services. But these services are by tradition shielded from investigation and attack. Thus, even the identities of the current heads of M. I. 5 (counter-intelligence) and M. I. 6 (foreign intelligence) are not publicly known. This understandable reserve deprives the services from full credit when credit is due, but also—as in this instance—makes it difficult to pin responsibility on them when things go wrong.

THE White Paper issued by the government alleges that by mid-May of 1951 Maclean was the leading suspect in an investigation begun as the result of a 1949 tip—perhaps from Gouzenko, the defecting Soviet code clerk in Canada—that the Soviets had been getting Foreign Office documents for some time. On the very day Maclean and Burgess made their hurried departure for the Continent en route to Moscow, the White Paper disclosed, the security forces had obtained the permission of the Foreign Secretary to interrogate Maclean. But no weekend surveillance was placed on him. The White Paper says in its attempt at an explanation:

> The watch on Maclean . . . was primarily aimed at collecting, if possible, further information, and not at preventing an escape. In imposing it, a calculated risk had to be taken that he might become aware of it and might take flight. It was inadvisable to increase this risk by extending the surveillance to his home in an isolated part of the country, and he was therefore watched in London only.

The fact almost certainly is that until Maclean's departure, the security services had very little against him. "There was . . . no legally admissible evidence to support prosecution under the Official Secrets Acts," the White Paper admits. This is confirmed by the fact that although the Foreign Secretary's permission had been obtained, interrogation of Maclean was deferred be-

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cause M. I. 5 wanted to have something with which to confront him.

The most striking evidence that suspicion of Maclean had not hardened was that the police at normal departure points were not even alerted to the fact that he might try to leave the country. The White Paper insists that there existed "no legal power to stop him" in any case. But alerted port security officers could have picked up his passport and, without one, the French police would have turned him back. Or, at a minimum, they could have informed the Foreign Office immediately. As it was, the very fact of his departure did not become known until three days after he had left.

THE inference that counter-intelligence had next to nothing to go on is further strengthened by the White Paper's virtual admission that Maclean's friend, Burgess, was under no suspicion of espionage. Like Maclean a neurotic dipsomaniac and homosexual, Burgess had been asked to resign just before he fled. But by omitting to state that the resignation had been demanded because of public misbehavior in the United States, and particularly for drunken driving, the White Paper conveyed the implication that security reasons were involved. Yet the document discloses that only *after* Burgess's flight did any real investigation of his activities begin:

> Investigations into Burgess's past have since shown that he, like Maclean, went through a period of Communist leanings while at Cambridge and that he, too, on leaving the university, outwardly renounced his views. No trace can be found in his subsequent career of direct participation in the activities of left-wing organizations. . . . The question has been asked whether the association of these two officers with each other did not give rise to suspicion. . . . They gave no evidence during the course of their career in the Foreign Service of any association other than would be normal between two colleagues.

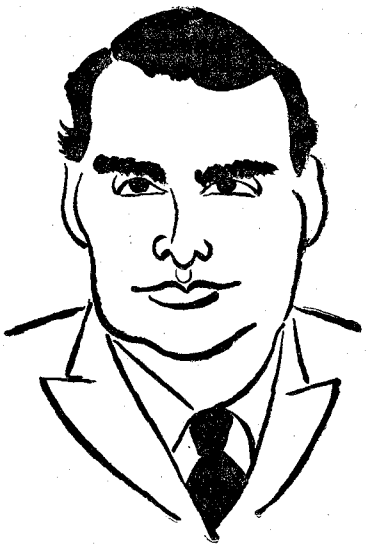
Donald Maclean

The last is a rather remarkable sentence, since both were said to be homosexuals.

Because the Foreign Office and the security services have hidden behind a pose of tight-lipped cloak-and-dagger omniscience, they have inflamed public suspicion that it was "old school tie" solidarity which prevented Maclean from being caught. "It was natural enough," points out the Manchester *Guardian*, "that his colleagues should be loth to suspect one of themselves, a man of great personal attraction, bearing an honored name." His father, Sir Donald Maclean, had been a Minister of Education. The Oxford don, A. J. P. Taylor, used his debut on commercial TV to assert that the Foreign Office was "just a gigantic system of outdoor relief to the British aristocracy." In short, the same complex of American prejudices against "cookie-pushers" and "sexual perverts" wearing "striped pants" has been displayed here.

Again, as in the United States, everyone is "trying to get in on the act." Even Taylor, who usually deplores snap judgments and witch-hunting, and who met Maclean only once in 1950, asserted that "it stood out a mile" that Maclean was a Soviet agent. The only evidence in support of this assertion, apparently, is that the unfortunate man was a dipsomaniac who, when drunk, often joked about being a "Soviet spy."

There are widespread demands for tighter security and a "purge" of the Foreign Office. They start from the assumption that someone tipped off Burgess and Maclean, although it is not impossible that the neurotic Burgess decided—and perhaps convinced the Soviets—that he was suspected of espionage instead of merely being in disfavor because of public drunkenness. The *Observer*, which deplores witch hunts, quoted



Guy Burgess

Alexander Foote, former Soviet spy in Germany, as insisting that Soviet intelligence would help evacuate such people only if it feared that they would incriminate more important sources of intelligence. But Mr. Foote ignores the possibility that the Russians may have wanted to accomplish just what the affair has accomplished from its inception: The sowing of suspicion between Britain and the United States, a suspicion which has made it necessary for Britain to waste much time and money duplicating the atomic-research program in America.

MOST of Britain's panic over the case is based on the hearsay evidence of Vladimir Petrov, the Soviet intelligence agent who defected in Australia. It is indicative that when Petrov first made statements about Burgess and Maclean in 1954, the Foreign Office said: "Petrov had no first-hand knowledge whatsoever of the missing diplomats . . . any hearsay evidence that Petrov may produce must be treated with some reserve." Now that Petrov has made public in Australia, the United States, and Britain various versions of what he heard from Soviet security agents, the Foreign Office appears to accept them at their face value.

The Manchester *Guardian* has shown great skepticism about the Petrov revelations because of the manner in which the few scraps of information he had gathered were differently "doctored" for sale to

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British, American, and Australian audiences. Thus the *Guardian* contrasted what appeared in the *U. S. News and World Report* and in *The People* on how Kislytzin, the Soviet agent, acted when he heard of Mrs. Maclean's disappearance. In the American version, Petrov "walked into the M. V. D. office . . . with a smile of pride and satisfaction on his face. He carried a newspaper. . . . 'So it has come off at last,' he said. 'I knew about this business. It has happened just as we planned it.'" In Petrov's British version, Kislytzin "burst into my [Petrov's] office. 'It's come off, at last, just as we planned it,' he shouted, waving a newspaper."

In the absence of better evidence, Maclean's "long-term" supply of documents is seriously doubted by such persons as Geoffrey Hoare, the knowledgeable *News Chronicle* correspondent, who wrote a recent book on the case. In the absence of solid information, the wildest sorts of allegations flourish. Demands for a purge of the Foreign Office usually stress the need to reassure Washington that British security is on its toes. Virtually all the British papers featured prominently the *U. S. News and World Report's* lurid and unsubstantiated allegation that China entered the Korean war on the basis of information from Maclean that the United States would not retaliate and attack China. Only the Manchester *Guardian* had the wit to check on the timetable of this "remarkable piece of fabrication." Wrote the *Guardian:*

> Maclean did not take over the American desk in the Foreign Office . . . until Monday, November 6, "just eighteen days before the Chinese armies attacked," according to the American magazine. Yet on November 5, the day before, General MacArthur had already reported contact with Chinese units in Korea. . . . Still, the Chinese might have gained some valuable clues from stolen documents; there is no knowing. The one certain thing is that U. S. News and World Report does not know. How can it? Unless it or its informants have access to state papers in Peking it cannot be certain what part stolen documents may have had in shaping Chinese policy.

There is a real danger, as Kenneth Younger, Labor M. P. and former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, has warned, that the work of the Foreign Office could be impaired for twenty years by a purge such as that which has afflicted the State Department in Washington. What is needed, as R. H. S. Crossman has suggested in his *Daily Mirror* column, is a judicial tribunal which would be given access to the government's confidential files and empowered to summon witnesses and to take their evidence on oath. The members should be men with legal background, diplomatic experience, and a working knowledge of espionage and counter-intelligence operations. But above all they must be men who understand that democracy itself is a "calculated risk" and that, while security is essential, even the most totalitarian security system cannot prevent an occasional defection. After all, Petrov and Gouzenko were not even sex perverts.

OPIUM TRADE

Is China Responsible? . . *by John O'Kearney*

UNITED STATES officials time and time again have laid charges both in and out of the United Nations that Red China is engaged in an opium offensive against the peoples of the Western world. These charges, which help to keep the American public in a state of hypnotized conviction that the Peking government is to barbarous to be permitted to assume China's seat in the United Nations, are not borne out by the preponderance of evidence in the opium ports of the East where evidence is obtained. They are looked upon as largely poppycock by men whose job it is to beat the illicit narcotics traffic.

Moreover, though Red China cannot be absolved of having a part in the business, the best available evidence points accusing fingers at two nations to which the United States has given millions in aid and an inflated status as anti-Communist allies: Thailand and Turkey. Other countries culpable are Lebanon and Iran.

Harry J. Anslinger, United States narcotics commissioner and current chairman of the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, in a report to a House appropriations subcommittee released last March, charged that Red China has a "twenty-year plan to finance political activities and spread addiction among free peoples through the sale of heroin and opium." He called this plan a "multiheaded dragon, threatening to mutilate and destroy whole segments of populations."

Anslinger depicted Red China as the "uncontrolled reservoir" of the international drug racket, asserting that the growing addiction in Japan to heroin (diacetylmorphine, a derivative of opium) has been traced to the Japanese Communist Party, which is supposed to obtain its supplies from the Chinese mainland. However, an International Criminal Police Commission memorandum to the U. N. in 1954 puts the finger on Thailand as the manufacturer of 8,270 grams of morphine (the immediate base of heroin) seized in Japan during the year, though the memorandum names China as the source of the opium from which the morphine was extracted. And while Anslinger charges Red China with an "inundation" of the world with opium and opium derivatives, another U. N. report clearly concludes that if the pattern of seizures may be taken as evidence of the volume

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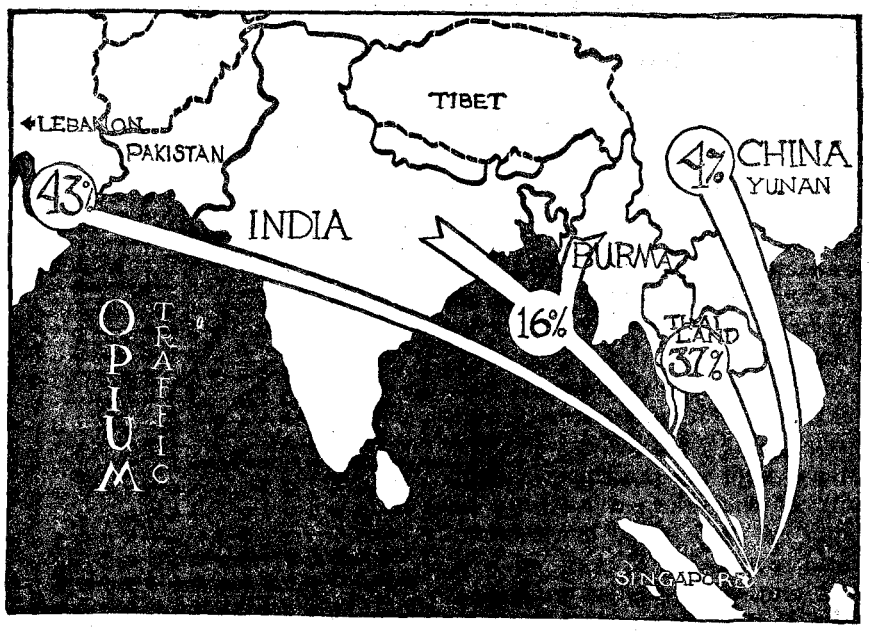
of illicit traffic in drugs, there has been "little change in the situation in the past twenty-five years." If any significant change has taken place, the report says, it appears to be in a "sharp fall" in the amount of Chinese opium making its way to Singapore, the major port of call for the seagoing narcotics traffickers of Southeast Asia.

The authority for this statement is the U. N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs itself. The commission's reports are summaries of the recorded drug seizures by narcotics-control authorities of U. N. member nations. Case histories are frequently incomplete. Essential facts are often wanting. But to the extent that the facts are known, they belie United States charges that China, under the Communist regime, is playing a greater part than formerly in the opium trade. They indicate, indeed, that its part may be growing less. A close reader of the statistics is led to conclude that the opium traffic has become a useful weapon in the hands of the anti-Communist propaganda warriors of the cold war.

THE United States has no narcotics agents assigned to the Far East, though occasionally, on sleuthing duties, they get out there. The Federal Narcotics Bureau must depend for the most part on narcotics agents native to foreign ports for its information on seizures and tips on shipments; and since the most responsible of these in the Far East—the narcotics men of British Hong Kong and Singapore—have stated in interviews that Anslinger's charges against Red China are "political exaggerations," it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Chiang Kai-shek's propagandists are having their effect on the Americans. While Nationalist Chinese give tonnage and acreage statistics on mainland opium production, Anslinger gives names and addresses of men within Red China who are alleged to be official processors and salesmen of a steadily-growing narcotics export trade.

But officials in Hong Kong laugh at Chiang Kai-shek's statistics; and their counterparts in the Narcotics Information Bureau in Singapore say that their most reliable intelligence is that Red China is ploughing up the opium fields of Yunnan Province to plant cotton.



It cannot be denied that opium is getting out of Red China, or that it gets into the world market over South China's Yunnan border into Burma, and down the rivers through Burma and Indo-China (Laos and Cambodia) into Thailand. Opium is as common as animism among the primitive peoples on both sides in that wild, almost roadless border country between China and Burma. Opium gets onto ships out of Red China ports. It is carried in smugglers' quantities by many of the thousands of junks that ply along the China coast. The poppy plant, which over the centuries has spread from Mesopotamia to farthest Asia like a creeping fungus, was a serious problem to Imperial China as far back as 1839, when China provoked the Opium War by prohibiting importation of the drug, and destroying a British opium warehouse in Canton.

THE Chinese have been trafficking in opium for as long as they have been traveling abroad; but to accuse Red China of plot and purpose on the simple basis of arrests of Chinese engaged in the trade, as Anslinger apparently does, is no more justified than to blame the United States for crimes committed by private American citizens in Africa. For example: The International Criminal Police Commission (I. C. P. C.) last year reported the arrests of twenty-seven Chinese involved in seizures of narcotics in France, India, the Netherlands Antilles (West Indies), and on Reunion Island off Madagascar. These men were undeniably Chinese, but no proof was found that they had been sent from Red China, nor was Communist China named as the country of origin of the opium.

The country of origin generally means the country where the poppy was grown, except that where the phrase is applied to manufactured heroin, it means the country of process. In the arrests of the twenty-seven Chinese, France listed the country of origin as Lebanon. Indian police gave the countries of origin as Iran and India. The Netherlands reported: "Probable origin, Singapore"; the Netherlands Antilles: "Places of purchase, Bombay and Liverpool"; Reunion: "Origin unknown."

Of all traffickers listed by the I. C. P. C. in its reports to the Economic and Social Council on the smuggling of raw and prepared opium, about 28.7 per cent were Chinese; but 97 per cent of the seized raw opium was identified as of Indian, Iranian, and Lebanese origin. Ninety-five per cent of this amount was known to have come from Lebanon alone. Perhaps the three per cent came from Red China. Perhaps.

In April, 1952, Anslinger gave names and addresses of firms in Red China which he said the Peking government was using as "gangsters and notorious traffickers," alleging that Red China was introducing narcotics to United States troops through North Korea. A month later Peking, through a Russian

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delegate to the U. N., countercharged that the United States itself deliberately had promoted addiction in Korea. And the Russian delegate added that Anslinger's charge against Red China was based on falsified figures surreptitiously planted in U. N. Secretariat files by the State Department. Anslinger returned to his charges in 1953, giving twenty-four pages of details on Chinese Communist narcotics operations throughout the Pacific area. He said that one shipment of 200 tons of raw opium had been offered by the Chinese for delivery in New York, though why a shipper should think of smuggling a quantity of opium as large as a house when heroin could be shipped in less space and with greater profit and safety, is not explained. The point is particularly relevant because Anslinger has emphasized that the Chinese are manufacturing heroin on a large scale.

SINCE the origin of narcotics in illicit trade can be determined only by evidence obtained in seizures, it may surely be agreed that the series of documents filed with the U. N. Secretariat under the title Summary of Illicit Transactions and S ures gives a fair indication of whether Anslinger knows what he is talking about any more than did the Russian who accused the State Department of planting falsified figures. A typical summary—that for July and August, 1953, which goes back beyond January of that year—contained only one reference to Communist China. The seizure reports came from authorities in Malaya, France, India, Aden, Australia, Hong Kong, Egypt, Ceylon, Mauritius, Mexico, the United States, and many other places.

During that period there was a seizure of 1,478.178 kilograms of raw opium concealed in a load of firewood being trucked into Singapore. It was "believed to be of Yunnan origin." All the rest of the scores of seizure reports stated variously: believed to have come from Thailand . . . was almost certainly Thai origin . . . origin unknown . . . of Iranian origin . . . of Turkish origin . . . of unknown origin . . . suspected to be Turkish . . . origin unknown . . . of Thai origin . . . of Indian origin . . . of Pakistani origin . . . probably Burmese . . .

opium from Mexico . . . of Thai origin—and so on, with by far the most "of unknown origin." Summary after summary follows the pattern.

Yet, despite this, Anslinger released a statement through the United States Mission to the U. N. in May of this year in which he said ". . . the Communist regime of mainland China is pouring opium, morphine, and heroin out through the province of Yunnan to augment the already existing lines of traffic out of Tientsin, Tsingtao, and Canton."

The Narcotics Bureau in Singapore has a map, which last January it would not release for publication, showing the main opium-producing areas of Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. This map, based on seizure evidence and intelligence, indicates the routes along which opium makes its way to the seaports, down rivers flowing from the highlands of these states. The major centers of opium production are ringed. Opium routes out of Yunnan are indicated. Percentage statistics, based on seizures, go with the map. They indicate that 37 per cent of the opium and opium derivatives which pass through Singapore, caught and uncaught, has its origin in Thailand. Forty-three per cent comes from the Persian Gulf area. Sixteen per cent was laid to India and Burma. The rest was attributed to Yunnan. Of the trade in Burma, Anslinger said in May: "Despite the efforts of the Burmese government to control the illicit traffic in narcotics, hundreds of tons of cleaned and packaged opium in one-kilogram units are brought into Burma each year from Yunnan Province. . . . The hub of the traffic on the Yunnan side of the border is Tengyueh. Along the border are found trucks, military vehicles, carts, mules, and pack trains used for transporting opium."

This information presumably came from Burmese officials. These officials, who had only the border near Tengyueh to keep an eye on, managed in 1953, the last year for which full figures are at this moment available, to seize only thirteen tons of opium in all. Anslinger's hundreds of tons escaped them! And their seizures included what they took from Burmese producers, of which there are many.

Again, in his May, 1955, statement, Anslinger said: "There is still a large illicit traffic in opium—chiefly in raw opium—coming over the northern land frontiers into the interior of Thailand." Clearly, he meant opium from Yunnan.

IN Singapore, the most notorious name in narcotics is Phao Sriyamoda, a Thai general and the nation's chief of police. General Phao, according to British intelligence sources, "turns his back on illicit traffic worth millions of dollars a year." Informers in Bangkok, where opium dens are wide open and licensed and taxed by the government, say that Phao announces the seizure of contraband from Yunnan Province only so that he may claim large government rewards. A pretense of cooperation goes on with the Western world, while heroin flows from Bangkok's airport to Singapore and Hong Kong. Phao even supplies alibis for traffickers who are caught. An American sergeant arrested in Hong Kong in May with a load of soap-sized bars of heroin marked by a bas-relief letter A, and wrapped in Thai newspapers, told narcotics agents he had bought the stuff in the belief that the heroin blocks were "prehistoric tablets."

In New York, U. N. officials said last week: "Anslinger's attacks on China are a bit overdone" (this was a Briton speaking), and added: "Thailand is in for a rough time. They're coming up on the carpet, next session of the [narcotics] commission, and we'll get an honest report or know why."

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CRIME IN YOUR PARLOR

TV Programs Under Fire . . *by Al Toffler*

ON August 28, in a modest ceremony in New York, representatives of the broadcasting world celebrated the thirty-third birthday of commercials on radio. At the brief observances, William S. Hedges, a vice-president of the National Broadcasting Company, explained that since that first primitive commercial, sponsors have poured twenty billion dollars into radio and television. "That," disclosed Mr. Hedges, "is why we love them. That is why you love them."

Mr. Hedges's murmurs of mutual affection notwithstanding, there were signs that not everyone did love everyone else. Specifically, a large portion of the public, including one Estes Kefauver, was not satisfied with what those lovable sponsors were doing to American youth. In fact, just two days before, a subcommittee headed by Senator Kefauver came up with a sheaf of proposals that brought an instant howl of rage from industry spokesmen.

The subcommittee findings, calling for increased FCC authority and citizens' watchdog committees as methods of toning down TV violence, were, according to the trade-journal *Broadcasting-Telecasting*, "palpably ridiculous," "a desperate groping for publicity by a man who cannot drive by the White House without breathing hard," "illegal, silly, and ominous."

It is unlikely that the Kefauver group's views would have elicited such bitter response had they not come at a time when the established networks face not only heightened criticism from alarmed viewers, educators, and parental groups, but also the far more dangerous criticism of pay-as-you-see-TV promoters who have made the low quality of present-day television a major argument for their cause.

Furthermore, the controversy over whether toll TV shall be permitted is due to be tossed squarely into the lap of Congress. This gives special significance to current Congressional criticism, and also to the admonition contained in the *Broadcasting-Telecasting* editorial—an admonition to broadcasters to "discourage Congress and the FCC from taking a cue from the ambitious Senator Kefauver."

THE personalized attack on Kefauver is reminiscent of the onslaught directed against Dr. Fredric Wertham by the crime-comics publishers as a result of his campaign for restrictions on their industry. A newsletter sent to communications media last February declared: "It is of no consequence whether crime comics are harmful or not . . . the immediate enemy is Fredric Werham, not some other publisher. He cannot be reasoned with. He must be discredited and rendered ineffective. This is a job for the bomb-disposal squad. . . ."

This similarity is ironic. Kefauver's Senate committee investigating crime a few years back went easy on the comic-book publishers, and, only recently, Wertham had occasion to renew his charge that Kefauver had whitewashed the industry. But the similarity between the response of the television world and the crime-comic publishers goes further. Taking a leaf from the publishers' book, the networks are getting committee-conscious. Frank Stanton, head of the Columbia Broadcasting System, announced to the recent convention of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters that his company was going to set up a committee of eminent public figures (including one from labor) to study "what the public wants."

N. B. C., as a matter of fact, has just publicized the findings of its own committee to study children's programming. The vigorous N. B. C. press department mailed these findings out to newspapers all over the country under the headline: "Searching analysis of telecasts made." It was subtitled: "First reports of kind—in part commendatory, in part critical—prepared for network by a group of prominent experts."

The committee had three members: Mrs. Douglas Horton, former president of Wellesley College and, oddly, a member of the board of directors of N. B. C.; Dr. Frances Horwich, "one of the country's leading authorities on primary education" and star of "Ding-Dong School," an N. B. C. show; and Dr. Robert Goldenson, "a psychologist and expert on family relations."

The committee held six meetings attended by "officers and staff members of the company," and it announced at the outset: "The committee would misrepresent its own position if it did not begin its report with an expression of satisfaction in what it has discovered about company policy."

In points 1, 2, 3, and 4, the committee finds this policy to be "highly commendable"; it is "impressed"; it "heartily endorses," etc. At length, blushingly, it arrives at the section it calls "concerns." Here the committee lists a dozen or so mild criticisms such as excessive slapstick and bad grammar. In fairness, it does mention a few matters of somewhat greater consequence, too. It urges intelligent treatment of racial and nationality groups.

BUT nowhere in the entire eleven pages of the report, in the three-page summary, or in the two-page accompanying letter which presumably has been sent to program producers, does this expert committee, engaged in a "searching analysis" of juvenile programs, seriously discuss the main subject of public concern and anxiety—violence.

Exactly thirty-four words are devoted to expressing solicitude over programs which are overexciting or which might induce fear. In the only

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AL TOFFLER is a feature writer and editor. Note editorial comment on page 314 in connection with his article.

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other paragraph that tangentially deals with the subject, the committee "recognizes the progress" made by the network in the avoidance of killing in Westerns. (Seen any lately?) In fact, the committee goes out of its way to cite professional authority to the effect that Westerns aren't so bad anyway, since they are removed in time and place from the child's life. They are really only a "harmless, vicarious outlet." Interestingly, spokesmen for the crime-comics industry cite the same argument.

In short, though it raised some points worth raising (even though they have been raised for years by educators and parental groups) the N. B. C. Children's Program Review Committee report is intriguing chiefly because it reveals anew the agility with which a self-appointed probe can sidestep the most important issues.

And so, with the filing of this report another committee has bitten the dust. Relevant are the vital facts cited by the National Association for Better Radio and Television in a report that concludes:

> This year [1954] more than at any time in the past, this committee is dismayed over the volume of crime and the degree of violence which dominate television programs for children. . . . Today, crime programs are being produced specifically for television in a volume approximately four times greater than in 1951.
>
> This committee is alarmed by the acceptance, by TV film producers, sponsors and broadcasters, of crime as the basic theme for children's programming, in spite of protests. . . . Murder, torture, sadism, morbid suspense, and other fear-and-tension-inducing elements are saturating children's minds. . . .
>
> More money is spent for the production of one half-hour crime Western than for the production of the entire twenty-one program periods classified as "excellent" by this committee. This fantastic 20-to-1 production-cost ratio is no doubt the prime cause of the generally low audience ratings of the "better" programs. . . .

This is precisely the point at which the Kefauver subcommittee centered its interest. The group readily admitted that it couldn't prove a direct causal relationship between criminal deeds and the viewing on television of violence and crime. On the other hand, it is patently absurd to try to reduce juvenile delinquency to a single factor, and none of TV's responsible critics attempt this.

Senator Kefauver

What Dr. Wertham wrote about comic books has relevance here. In an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature* last February, he noted: "It is not true that a child reads a comic book one day, then does something wrong on account of that the next. Very often the child may not do anything wrong at all; but the damage may be there nonetheless . . . nobody ever claimed that [comics] are [the sole factor]. . . ."

The television industry, in this connection, is faced with a dilemma. On the one hand it insists that kids aren't influenced by what they see, while on the other hand it spends tens of thousands annually to convince potential advertisers that it is the most effective of all media in implanting both conscious and unconscious desires in the viewer.

How children can spend an average of twenty hours a week before the screen and remain unaffected by what they see is rather hard to explain. Take for example these comments which are attributed to the spokesmen of advertising agencies by the author of How to Pitch to Children, in *Television*, May, 1955: "It is important to have the sales message delivered by a star or 'hero' in whom the kids believe." Or, "We sell the kids. They usually get what they want if the product is okay. Mother won't make a scene in the supermarket." Is it credible to draw a fine line between the commercial and the dramatic portions of the programs the kids see? The agencies themselves know that such a distinction is artificial when they urge that the "hero" be the one to make the sales pitch.

The Kefauver subcommittee came to the conclusion that television crime is potentially more injurious than movies radio, or comic books: "Television, available at the flick of a knob and combining visual and audible aspects into a 'live' story, has a greater impact on its child audience."

What particularly irked the editorial writer for *Broadcasting-Telecasting*, however, were the specific forms of restraint urged by the subcommittee. One suggestion was for the establishment of citizens' listening councils at the local level, "sober, unbiased adults, maintaining steady watch over the programs offered to children and promptly reporting offensive material to responsible sources."

The one that brought down the house, though, was the recommendation that the Federal Communications Commission be given power to levy fines and revoke the licenses of stations which violate an established code. This would involve preparation of minimal standards as to what constitutes program balance, and what materials, damaging to children, should be prohibited.

Needless to say, *Broadcasting-Telecating* has already seized on this proposal as being "unbearable government control." Like the crime-comics publishers, the networks have, until now, made effective use of constitutional guarantees to prevent restrictive legislation. And unquestionably it is a difficult point. With the FCC currently dominated by ultra-conservatives and under attack for its fantastic activities in the Lamb case, it has not won the respect of civil-rights minded citizens.

Yet, it is not legitimate, as the networks and others insist, to place the whole responsibility for juvenile waywardness on parental laxity or ignorance. It is absurd to ignore the fact that acts and threats of violence on TV were averaging 3,539 a week as far back as 1953, and have undoubtedly increased since. Coupled with the circulation of eighty or ninety million crime comics a month, and the rising curve of juvenile delinquency, TV shoot-'em-ups merit public concern and inquiry.

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BOOKS

Detour to Democracy

LA BATALLA DE GUATEMALA. By Guillermo Toriello. Ediciones Cuadernos Americanos. Mexico, D. F. $1.80.

By David L. Graham

IT SEEMS unlikely that Secretary Dulles will follow up the Yalta revelations by permitting the State Department's file on Guatemala to be made public. That will doubtless have to await the coming of a Democrat. But the State Department's case against President Arbenz, who was overthrown by Colonel Castillo Armas, has been published: it is called "Intervention of International Communism in Guatemala."

Now comes the lawyer for the defense, Guillermo Toriello, U. N. Representative and Foreign Minister of the Arbenz government. Reticent as Toriello is about the Communists in pre-rebellion Guatemala—a handful were very active and by no means unsuccessful in grabbing key positions, notably in the labor movement—Toriello and the State Department nevertheless agree on the main facts: namely, that there were only four Communists among the fifty-six deputies in the Guatemalan Congress and that there were none in the Arbenz Cabinet.

Where Toriello disagrees with the State Department, and disagrees violently, is in his interpretation of the facts of the Communist situation and of the ensuing United States intervention. According to him, the State Department resorted to McCarthyism on an international scale, creating the impression that a very weak Guatemalan government, that of Arbenz, was completely in the grip of an all-powerful Communist Party; whereas the truth was that a very strong and popular government was supported by, among others, a tiny Communist Party.

If communism was such a power in Guatemala, one feels inclined to ask, why was it so easily crushed? Daniel James in his shrill "Red Design for Latin America" writes wonderingly, "The [Communist] party remained strangely ineffective during the whole crucial period immediately preceding and following the outbreak of civil war." Could the party's strength have been grossly exaggerated?

"What happened in Guatemala," writes Toriello, "was clearly and simply an aggression both diplomatic and military to reestablish the privileged position of the United Fruit Company and other American monopolies which represent the interests of neither the American people nor the American government." It wasn't communism that was stamped out in Guatemala but democracy.

Guillermo Toriello is no Communist nor has he been accused of being a Communist. Born into a wealthy Guatemalan family, he distinguished himself in the overthrow of General Ubico, the tyrant who ruled Guatemala from 1931 to 1944. As a lawyer he had money and position; as his country's representative at the 1954 Caracas conference he received probably the most spontaneous ovation any Latin American diplomat has ever inspired—not only for standing up to Mr. Dulles but for departing so frankly from the high level of hypocrisy along which these conferences have usually glided in previous years.

TORIELLO is no writer, but his indignation enables him to express himself with force and obvious sincerity. He is indignant because he and the legal government he belonged to were driven from office—chiefly, he claims, as a result of United States intervention, diplomatic and financial. In Mr. Dulles he finds that curious Anglo-Saxon combination of piety, energy, and guile that has always baffled and enraged the Latin spirit. What most bedevils him are the Dulles references to the Monroe Doctrine, the hullabaloo over the Alfhem arms shipment, and the Dulles speech hailing Operation Guatemala as a "glorious victory."

This part of the book is probably the most valuable for North Americans, since it reveals not only how many Latin Americans feel about us but how they see themselves. According to Toriello, the people of the United States are lamentably misinformed on both counts. Take the Monroe Doctrine: we are always patting ourselves on the back for it as a noble, brotherly pronouncement and policy; Latin Americans resent it as a high-handed intrusion into their affairs, a monstrously hypocritical way of dressing up political and economic depredations.

What Toriello has to say about these depredations, even if only half of it is true, is rather sickening. Although he admits that Guatemala under Arbenz was no utopia, he maintains that never had the national government been more truly representative of the people. Living standards were up, illiteracy was down, the privileged interests were being curbed, and great public works were under way.

Then came the "liberation," he says, and the whole progressive trend was thrown into reverse. Under the banner of "anti-communism" and the sheltering power of the American-sponsored dictatorship, all the old special interests swooped down on the prostrate country. Vast tracts of land were handed over to the big operators, debts owed the government by foreign monopolies were forgiven, and taxes levied on those who could most easily afford to pay were canceled. The excuse given was that all this was necessary in order to get the national economy running again. But it proves, according to Toriello, that the purpose of the "liberation" was not to oust communism but to restore monopoly.

Much of this may be surmise, but the fact remains that after his seizure of power Castillo disbanded the unions, halted land reform, outlawed all political parties, limited suffrage, abolished Congress, and set up no fewer than ten secret-police outfits—for a population about that of Philadelphia. This may be the road to democracy, but it looks like a detour.

As to the famous Alfhem arms

DAVID L. GRAHAM is a free-lance writer specializing in Latin American affairs. His article, Castillo's Guatemala, appeared in The Nation *of May 21.*

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shipment, certainly we bought arms, says Toriello, ordering them from a British agent because for eight years the United States had ignored our requests and pressured other countries into doing so. The State Department deliberately allowed this one shipment to get through, because it happened to come from behind the iron curtain, and then tremendously exaggerated the transaction. Another shipment that came from Switzerland a little later was seized quietly. It had no propaganda value.

The Arbenz government needed arms for normal training purposes and for the defense of the country; several minor revolts had already broken out and the big Castillo Armas insurrection was openly organizing in Nicaragua and Honduras—as was well known in Washington at the time.

Bitter as his experience was, the former Guatemalan Foreign Minister shows no animosity toward the American people. His explanation of his government's demise reads almost like a Democratic campaign tract: he blames it all on the Republican Administration acting for big business. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy was a fine thing, he says, and marvelously successful in uniting the Western Hemisphere; but as soon as the Republicans took over they reverted to dollar diplomacy and the big stick.

How true all this is awaits further revelations. But for millions of Latin Americans, Operation Guatemala was the clincher to the argument that the United States is an imperialist power. One more such "glorious victory" and the United States will have lost the cold war in Latin America.

Science in Support of Ethics

THE DIRECTION OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. Biological and Social Bases. By M. F. Ashley Montagu. Harper and Brothers. $5.

By Abraham Edel

IN WESTERN thought man has been pictured dominantly as a predatory individual restrained only by fear of hell fire or human retribution, or else curbed by the pressures of social conditioning. In modern times suspicion has grown to the point of conviction that this is not inherent human nature but the product of a way of life in which the predatory is encouraged as the path to success while kindly and affectionate sentiments are penalized. The sciences of man are now faced with the question: is man an inherently neutral stuff which can be shaped in many sharply differing patterns, or is he inherently a loving, naturally cooperative being who can be turned into the opposite only at the price of distortion, basic individual unhappiness, as well as social conflict? Such a question calls for a scientific answer, through synthesis of growing data and developing theories of biologists, psychologists, and social scientists.

Such a synthesis is the task that Professor Montagu has undertaken. He marshals evidence from animal studies on the biological basis of cooperation, as varied as the "social appetite" of a frog's eggs whose cells when shaken apart in water move slowly together again, and the training of a ferocious rat-killing alley cat to cooperate with a rat in operating a food-providing mechanical device. He deals with the role of mutual influence, dependence, and love in the individual from the pre-natal situation and the birth experience through the psychological development of the young child in relation to maternal affection and into the social response of the adult to group acceptance or rejection. Professor Montagu's stand, strongly and even vehemently affirmed, is that love is central throughout the whole of human life, not only as a condition of proper human development, but even as the very meaning of the life quest.

THE BOOK is highly readable, with only occasional technical passages. Its experimental materials from a variety of fields are especially interesting, and its attempt at an integration which underscores the intimate, inseparable relation of heredity and environment, biology and culture, is illuminating. Opposing basic positions are not, however, analyzed fully, so that much of the material seems to be more an illustration of a thesis than evidence for a hypothesis. The richest data are presented in the biological context; in dealing with social and philosophical themes such as the human good and the meaning of value the account becomes sketchy. The same detailed treatment of qualities, processes, and mechanisms that Professor Montagu exhibits in the biological investigations is required in the cultural and historical if we are to have a clear picture of goals in human development.

The vision of scientific support for basic ethical goals and attitudes is an intoxicating one. Therein lies a danger which Professor Montagu has not wholly escaped—for example, in such declarations as that to love thy neighbor as thyself is perfectly sound biology. Ultimately neither science nor ethics will be served by replacing an ideology of the predatory economic man with an ideological cult of love. The questions at issue have to be approached with the attitude of "cold science" with its careful analysis of concepts and its full exploration of alternative interpretations of experiments. The tremendous accumulation of contemporary evidence pointing in the direction of a more hopeful conception of man may very well spur us on to greater scientific efforts and even to proposed reorientation of social policies, but a final reckoning is not yet in sight.

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York and author of "Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics" and "The Theory and Practice of Philosophy."

Selected New Books

American Foreign Policy

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Report of a Study Group Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association. Holt. $6. In 1952 Columbia University Press published "United States Foreign Policy: Its Organization and Control," a report of a study group for the W. W. F. The present volume on economic foreign policy is the product of a second study group, jointly sponsored by W. W. F. and N. P. A. The chairman of both groups was Professor William Yandell Elliott of Harvard. His new collaborators are Frank Altschul, Richard M. Bissell, Jr., Courtney C. Brown, H. vanB. Cleveland,

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Theodore Geiger, Harry D. Gideonse, Edward S. Mason, and Don K. Price. The report is an eloquent, thought-provoking, and vastly informative appeal for a greater measure of economic integration among the Atlantic communities and a fresh approach to the problems of the underdeveloped countries. The answers offered are tentative and sometimes nebulous. But it is the great merit of these pages that they often raise the right questions—which is a rare virtue deserving commendation and warranting careful reading and cogitation.

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER. By Samuel Flagg Bemis. Holt. $6.95. Professor Bemis of Yale here gives us, in a 500-page revision, Part III of the third edition (1950) of his standard "Diplomatic History of the United States." The result is an admirable survey of United States foreign policy from 1900 to 1955. Only sixty pages—alas!—are devoted to the past decade. Eccentricities of style and evaluation will irritate some readers and stimulate others. This is, nevertheless, a richly factual and highly readable narrative.

FOREIGN POLICY AND PARTY POLITICS: Pearl Harbor to Korea. By H. Bradford Westerfield. Yale. $6. This first book by an instructor at Harvard, inspired by W. Y. Elliott et al., is a fascinating analysis of partisan, non-partisan, bi-partisan, and "extrapartisan" handling in Congress of the major issues of foreign policy between 1941 and 1950. The conclusion is implicit in the premise—i.e., that, for obvious reasons, foreign policy should be above and beyond party politics. The implications of this familiar proposition are not adequately explored. But the author has put together an absorbing story and drawn from it some useful generalizations. Both deserve to be read and pondered by all who are concerned with substituting statesmanship for demagoguery in foreign affairs.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

COMING

"The Desert and the Stars: A Biography of Lawrence of Arabia"
By Flora Armitage
Reviewed by George Dangerfield

"Tom Barber"
By Forrest Reid
Reviewed by Jessamyn West

"Time for Living"
By George Soule
Reviewed by Joseph Dorfman

HISTORY OF THE
COLD WAR

by Kenneth Ingram

Unquestionably an important contribution to the recorded history of our time, Mr. Ingram's new book is a study of the relations of the Soviet Union and other Communist states with the Western Democracies, during the period between the end of the Second World War (1945) and the death of Stalin (1953).

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In each case the author gives both the Communist and the Western interpretations of these events, leaving it to the reader to form his own judgments.

In the final chapter he reviews the existing situation in its historical context.

COMMENT FROM A REVIEW OF THIS BOOK

by Frederick L. Schuman
in The Nation

"The author surveys in broad strokes the background, the events of 1945, the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, the Marshall Plan, the Battle of Berlin, the Czech coup, the Yugoslav schism, the atomic deadlock, NATO and German rearmament, unofficial East-West relations, the rising tide of color against white colonialism, China, the Korean War, the Japanese treaty, and the passing of Stalin. To have put all this together in 233 pages, on the whole readably and judiciously, is no small achievement. Readers will find the narrative highly rewarding . . .

"Here is no sugar-coating of Soviet ruthlessness and stupidity, nor any acceptance of American policy as a righteous crusade for freedom. He notes, sagely, that in the nature of power politics all claims that NATO and the Soviet alliances are purely 'defensive' are wholly unconvincing to the other side . . .

"The analysis of the United States and the United Nations in Korea is almost masterly and the concluding judgments are sharp."

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Books in Brief

Man the Traveler

CONQUEST BY MAN. By Paul Herrmann. Translated by Michael Bullock. Harper. $6.

This is a fascinating book but—read it with caution. Drawing on the vast storehouse of material which scholars have accumulated on history and pre-history, the author has chosen to tell of man the ubiquitous trader, the purposive traveler, the inquiring explorer. The book starts with Neolithic times and ends with the great Portuguese discoveries, the beginning for most accounts of exploration. It brings together a mass of obscure but important and arresting material: the extended trade routes of Hallstatt salt; the cargoes and wide-ranging voyages of Egyptian freighters, the island-hopping discoveries of the Vikings; the size and luxury of medieval Chinese ocean-going junks; the riches of Eastern traffic when Arab merchants served as intercontinental middlemen.

All this is told with verve and wonderful detail; the author's enthusiasm is contagious. But—and here comes the caution—the reader is forced to discriminate between the factual and the hypothetical and conjectural. Thus the author gives the same credence to the message on the Kensington "rune stone" which "proves" that in the fourteenth century Norsemen went to Douglas County, Minnesota, as to the inscriptions on the tomb of the Egyptian Hatshepstut, which record a voyage made in 1500 B. C. from Thebes to the Soaali coast to obtain incense. He uses sagas and myths with equal authority; no one questions the sagas telling of Viking visits to North America, but his use of the Quetzacoatl legend to demonstrate the presence of European missionaries in the New World a thousand years before Columbus's landfall, is unfortunate.

A Lesser Cary

NOT HONOUR MORE. By Joyce Cary. Harper. $3.50.

"Not Honour More" is the final volume of a Joyce Cary trilogy—the story of British politician Chester Nimmo. Mr. Cary has impressed readers and critics on both sides of the Atlantic as one of the most important novelists now working, a composite of the deliberate craftsman and nimble satirist. With "Not Honour More," however, Mr. Cary comes up against an old structural problem: the fact that any novel told entirely from a single point of view demands a narrator whose mind must be sensitive and complex enough to provide dramatic fiction.

Cary's use of point of view has provided some fascinating results, since he uses the method on such large canvases. The first volume of the Nimmo series, for example was narrated by Nina, Nimmo's wife; the second by Nimmo himself; and the present book by Captain Jim Latter, Nina's first lover and second husband. This alternation adds richness to the sequence as readers are faced with the challenge of many interlacing values and judgments.

In "Not Honour More," however, Cary limits himself to the narrow and rigid area of Captain Latter's mind, a mind which distrusts all words, tends to think in terms of exact right and exact wrong, and ultimately defines truth in terms of action. Imprisoned within this mind, the resulting prose is thin and rigid, just as it was rich and complex when the point of view was Nimmo's in "Except the Lord." The portrait of Latter becomes artistically weak because the single dimension in which he functions and speaks cannot support the burden of 309 pages of fiction.

Equally damaging is the fact that by limiting his narrative entirely to Latter's point of view, Cary turns Nimmo and Nina into creatures lacking any meaning whatever for the reader who has not read the two previous volumes. Considered on its own merits, a book seen only through the mind of a narrator incapable of nuance or insight, is not likely to have much of an impact.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE INTENTION of "The Night of the Hunter" is to make you cry out in horror. If at times you snort in indignation, that may be because Robert Mitchum and Charles Laughton (in his first assignment as a director) overwork the material. There is too much brooding menace in the air, too much fe, fi, fo, fum in Mitchum's characterization of a revivalist preacher who goes about the country marrying and murdering susceptible converts for the money in their mattresses. He rolls his eyes and foams at the mouth and behaves in all ways like the madman he is—or like John Barrymore with the bit in his teeth.

But there are good things in the picture. One of these is Shelley Winters as the last victim—a young widow made dim by misery, but with the courage to take what she senses is a rather desperate last snatch at happiness. No one will snort during her scenes. On their wedding night her mad husband reviles her, and Miss Winters raises this to a passage of authentic horror—a horror of the soul. She is one of the few actors in the studios who can create a depth of personality. As in most of her recent roles, there is a convincing ambiguity about the pathetic widow—she is a little revolting, more than a little admirable, demure but avid. It is intelligent, exciting work.

Also excellent is Laughton's evocation of a decent, small-minded community: kind but petty, shrewd but gullible, God-fearing but trembling for malicious gossip. And then there is a long, nightmare flight down the river; a little boy and girl (children of the murdered woman by her first marriage) drifting on and on, and still hearing their pursuer singing hymns on the road above them. They finally reach haven in the home of an eccentric brood hen, and there, despite the capable acting of Lillian Gish, the picture collapses fatally into "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm."

Laughton has worked in a misty, slightly elliptic style that is meant to be poetic and powerfully sug-

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gestive. As often as not, it is merely affected; and from time to time it drops disconcertingly into conventional camera realism. The picture is not a success, but it is a good failure. It is based on a novel by Davis Grubb, adapted by the late James Agee.

IN SICILY, Audie Murphy killed Germans one by one; at Anzio he dropped them by squads, and up around Colmar he was executing them in platoons. By then, he had the *Wehrmacht* in full flight and his fellows in arms were sprinting to keep in sight of the war. Or so it would appear in "To Hell and Back."

I do not mean to ridicule the record of a young, brave, and frighteningly effective soldier, but Universal has made a ridiculous movie of his combat memoirs. Aside from the questionable taste of asking him to play himself as an all-American hero, it has embroidered a scenario in which the fortunes of the whole Mediterranean campaign are made to fall on his shoulders. The rest of the army has almost nothing to do but chorus "gosh, Murph!" and kiss the girls he liberates. And the enemy fires volley after volley at his exposed person with a futility that suggests blank ammunition.

It must be said for Murphy that he wears the embarrassing mantle of omnipotence with surprising grace. He has come a long way in a few years. Hollywood hired him just after the war for the publicity value of his decorations, and in his early pictures he looked like a high-school kid with no talent or taste for amateur theatricals. But he has gained a lot of poise since then and he survives "To Hell and Back" by assuming a pose of modest amusement. In the circumstances, this is fine acting and Murphy could easily become a fine actor. The compact athlete's body and the quick and original mind that made him a dangerous soldier are valuable assets in the theater.

THE death of James Dean in a car accident last month deprives Hollywood of one of its best young actors. Dean had presence, intelligence, and style. A good many people—myself included—pointed out that the style, as shown in his first picture, "East of Eden," was not yet entirely his own. He was given too much to do too quickly, but he was obviously much more than an imitator and could have become one of the Coast's most eloquent performers. Two pictures in which he appears—"Giant" and "Rebel Without Cause"—have yet to be released.

THE LATEST version of "My Sister Eileen," starring Janet Leigh and Betty Garrett, is a routine but sound musical comedy. . . . "Will Any Gentleman?" imported from England, is a work of stale slapstick involving hypnosis and the pinching of housemaids.

THE PRINCIPALS in "The Left Hand of God" wrestle in sweaty agony with an instance of mortal sin. This causes them to strike poses of wooden introspection which I might find more effective if I could believe in the reality of their problem.

The ticklish situation is that a downed American flier has assumed the masquerade of a Catholic priest in order to escape from forced service in the guerilla army of a Chinese warlord. In this guise he arrives at a remote village where a priest is expected and where he is greeted with adulation by the people and with mixed feelings by the white residents. That is, the mission doctor thinks he is fishy, and the mission nurse thinks he is uncommonly attractive. The psuedo priest ingeniously avoids performing any such major offices as conducting mass or hearing confessions and he keeps himself at an irreproachable distance from the young lady until his masquerade is exposed. But, with proper respect for the way news travels in the back country, he maintains the disguise until his former boss rides down from the hills and forces his hand. He also wins the love and trust of the community and that, apparently, is what galls the proper officers of the church when they arrive. They take a stern but compassionate view of the imposture: the now-enthralled lovers are merely forced to renounce their love. I presume that a less magnanimous sentence might have been burning at the stake.

Humphrey Bogart plays the perplexed and devout airman; Gene Tierney is the nurse, horrified by her seemingly unnatural inclinations; Lee Cobb is the Chinese robber chief (he was educated in the States, which is why he looks and talks like a Chicago gangster). Edward Dmytryk directs what might have been an exciting adventure if so much time had not been spent in testing the alleged thinness of the religious ice.

Theater

Shepard Traube

[*Mr. Traube, producer and director of such hits as "Angel Street" and "Time Out for Ginger," pinch-hits this week for Harold Clurman,* The Nation's *regular theater critic.* —EDITORS.]

THE PRODUCTION of N. C. Hunter's distinguished comedy, "A Day by the Sea," at the ANTA Playhouse evokes a rueful examination of the Broadway theatrical system.

Even had the play not been damned by the metropolitan drama critics (with one notable exception), it probably would have been destined for a brief life in our canyons. In fact, Huntington Hartford and Stephen Mitchell, the producers, announced the venture for a "limited engagement," evidently considering their production a labor of love and holding out scant hope for any widespread popular success. It seems to me that they have fared considerably more poorly than they deserved, since they do not have so much as the satisfaction of a *success d'estime.* The play will go down without a trace, as though it were the most hackneyed kind of commercial "flop."

For this observer it is saddening to note the short shrift accorded to "A Day by the Sea," because this play is clearly the work of an enlightened mind. Mr. Hunter is a wise and witty man who knows a great deal about the foibles of people in our modern society and can write about them for the stage with penetration and affection. He is an author who knows how to set characters into motion dramatically and how

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to trace their inner secrets with delicate purpose. His point of view is always wry and understanding, never bitter or malicious. Mr. Hunter is a stylist who can find the humor in life, even when living is touched with defeat.

It is astonishing that the play was dismissed so summarily as a Chekovian conversation-piece. (Actually, if there is any Russian work to which Mr. Hunter's play may be compared at all accurately, I would declare it to be Turgenieff's "A Month in the Country," another comedy dealing in the frailty of human character.) The exasperating fact is that the Broadway theater is frequently most unkind to the writer whose play aspires for approval on any kind of an intellectual level, and will treat him more shabbily than the writer of what is frankly trash.

In London's West End, "A Day by the Sea" was blessed with an all-star cast and enjoyed a long engagement, perhaps because London audiences not only support their established stars, but also are civilized enough to enjoy an evening of good talk.

A first-class company of actors was assembled for the New York production and given a careful preliminary test on the West Coast. Directed with precisely the correct sophisticated touch by Cedric Hardwicke, some of the most excellent actors we have on this side of the water played in "A Day by the Sea" with exquisite skill. Dennis King, at the top of his form as a bibulous lost soul, was unfailingly brilliant. Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronyn were heart-breakingly true throughout the entire evening. Aline MacMahon, Halliwell Hobbes, Leo Britt, and Megs Jenkins were equally superb in a company that performed the comedy in perfect taste.

Should N. C. Hunter be dismayed by the curiously unqualified failure of "A Day by the Sea" in New York, let him take small comfort in our own puzzlement.

ANOTHER "limited engagement" is that of the D'Oyly Carte Savoyards at the Shubert Theater. But since their Gilbert and Sullivan audience in this country is pre-sold, their fate is sturdier than that of "A Day by the Sea."

The production of "Iolanthe," conducted by the sagacious Isidore Godfrey, proved to be a constant delight—played with authentic verve, as the masters themselves must have ordered it, by a great company.

Of particular note is the meteoric success of Peter Pratt, who has inherited the roles once played by such stalwarts as George Grossmith and Martyn Green. Only thirty-two years of age, Mr. Pratt is absolutely dazzling as the Lord Chancellor of "Iolanthe," a marvelous character actor, and one of the best comic dancers ever to appear on a stage anywhere. How gratifying to have a theater system like the British, which nourishes the D'Oyly Carte institution and makes it possible for young Peter Pratt to devote himself to this kind of a career! He may never make a fortune, but he is an artist who will always know where he is at.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE DENSELY polyphonic, rich, and subtle writing in Debussy's "Iberia" is heard also in the two other pieces of "Images" that are almost never played—"Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps," in the latter of which it is especially rich, lending itself wonderfully to the evocative purposes of an excitingly beautiful aural "image" of spring that is one of the high points of Debussy's creative achievement (why Toscanini never played it is one of the mysteries of his selection of repertory: when asked he would nod and smile and say "Yes . . . Debussy sent me the score"; period). There has been a Victor record of very poor performances of all three pieces by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony: and so it is a pleasure to report Epic's release on LC-3147 of excellent performances of all three by van Bienum with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra. They are reproduced with remarkable clarity and distinctness by the kind of recording that I think places the ear too close to the various instruments; and with crackling noises that are not caused by any scratches on the record.

What is usually played as Franck's "Psyche" is several instrumental movements of what I now discover to be a work that also includes a couple of movements for orchestra and chorus. I owe the discovery to Epic LC-3146, which offers a beautiful performance by van Otterloo with the Hague Philharmonic and the Netherlands Chamber Choir. The instrumental writing is delicate and lovely and free of the bombastic proclamation of some of Franck's other symphonic music, though not free of his tendency to repeat himself; the choral movements offer the mellifluous and sweet writing of the saintly Franck.

Epic LC-3157 has given me my first hearing of Mozart's Violin Concerto K.211, which turns out to be a modestly engaging work, but one that is insignificant by the side of K.219, which is on the same record. The violin-playing of Grumiaux has a distinction which the playing of the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner lacks; but though Grumiaux's playing is superb, I find it unpoised and hectic in the first movement of K.219—even in the wonderful slow melody with which the solo violin makes its first entrance. The recorded sound is sharp and somewhat coarse, requiring reduction of treble.

London LL-1262 offers Gershwin's Piano Concerto and "Rhapsody in Blue" played by Katchen with Mantovani's Orchestra. After the brutal treatments of the piano part of the Concerto in some other recorded performances it is a pleasure to hear Katchen's deft brilliance and sensi-

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tive phrasing; and my only reservation concerns a few of the orchestra's inflections that seem to me exaggerated, and the—to me—exaggeratedly low-down style of the solo trumpet in the second movement. In the Rhapsody there is fussing by the piano as well as the orchestra—the piece apparently being one that nobody can play without this heavy underscoring of every point.

I will add that it was a pleasure to hear anew after the considerable interval the pieces of Gershwin show-music in the two works—including the ones that are variants or developments of the others. For example, in the first movement, the "bridge passage" from the proclamatory first theme to the "second subject"—a delightful anticipatory variant of the expansive melody of the "second subject"; and the further variants in the "development" that follows. The whole idea of producing the sequence of exposition, development, and recapitulation of sonata form with this material was wrong; but some of the episodes Gershwin produced from his themes in the process are superb.

JANSZEN Laboratories is now offering the remarkable high-frequency speaker that I discussed in my July 16 column with either one or two Bozak low-frequency woofers in cabinets which are excellently constructed and very handsome. The one-woofer combination ($335) produces a marvelously beautiful sound with perfect balance of treble and bass; the two-woofer combination ($537) a sound that has an additional impressive solidity down below. Places I know of where they can be heard are Radio Stack in Boston and Harvey Radio in New York.

I have also heard the Acoustic Research AR-1 speaker system, which achieves the seemingly impossible: a real and clearly defined bass in a cabinet only 14 by 11 3/8 by 25 inches in size. The woofer-and-tweeter combination produces a good sound; and vastly superior sound is had by combining the woofer ($145) with the Janszen high-frequency speaker ($161 in black utility cabinet; $184 in finished wood). I should add that I heard the AR-1 with a McIntosh 60-watt amplifier, and that it needs an amplifier of such power.

And finally I can report that Bogen's new PR-100 pre-amplifier ($99.50, plus $20 for cabinet if desired) is excellent in every way—one of its valuable features being steep roll-offs (for the occasions when they are needed) which do not produce the ringing resonances that usually are the undesirable concomitant of such roll-offs.

Letters

Behind the Argentine Revolt

[The author of the following letter, which was written immediately after the successful uprising in Argentina and brought by hand from Buenos Aires to New York, is a well-known Argentine economist and an old-time contributor to The Nation.—The Editors.]

Dear Sirs: Five days of blood and anguish have shattered to pieces a dictatorship with a quasi-fascist organization. What to thousands and thousands of Argentines seemed for years impossible to attain is now a reality. The country has been liberated from a regime which brought oppression to every citizen in every activity. The feverish cavalcade of events in the last three months helps explain the complex political background of this liberating struggle.

June 16: The navy in revolt and Buenos Aires under air attack—this was the tragic warning that the political conflict was likely to be resolved only by violent means. However, a final pacific way out seemed open. After losing control of the armed forces and after demonstrating the inefficiency of his civil organization (mainly, the General Confederation of Workers) to cope with the armed threat, Peron still had time to seek an understanding with the political parties and return to democratic standards of coexistence. The chance was there, for many people eagerly wished for a peaceful solution, even at the price of dealing with a man whose word could not be trusted.

Between June 16 and August 31, a sharp line was drawn between those committed to a solution of force and those against. The line ran through most political groups and parties, as well as through the armed forces, the Catholic church, and the workers. Even in official circles some opinion sup-

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ported a conciliatory attitude, with the vested interests (the new oligarchy, the profiteers, and the oil-contract backers) pushing Peron to the old expedients of violence and intimidation.

Peron's speech of August 31 marked the decisive turn. It closed every door, blocked off every pacific and intelligent way out. Peron pushed all non-Peronists, whatever their political beliefs, into the same corner and to all he promised death—death without process, by any self-appointed executioner, with the single condition that the executioner should be a Peronist. The dividing line became sharper: almost the whole opposition was thrown into the camp of revolution. A de facto over-all coalition became an invisible but potent reality. The few advocates of non-violence found themselves grasping at air.

What were Peron's plans? Intimidation by bluff and corruption, as in many previous instances? The only plan he announced was the fantastic one of substituting armed syndicalism for the organized armed forces of the nation—social revolution, but without socialism and with the purpose of consolidating a voracious new oligarchy and putting through the oil contract.

The plan was still-born. For the social historian it will be another item to examine in evaluating a regime which used modern revolutionary terminology to cover a process of consolidating class interests and foreign investments.

One main theme underlies this national upheaval: the will to end repression and restore freedom. Among many recent instances of political persecution, the Ingalinella case—the physician tortured to death in Rosario by Peron's political police two days after the June 16 revolt—particularly shocked the nation and crystallized every shade of opinion in a quiet but powerful protest against the systematic tortures applied to political prisoners.

Two other factors prompted the revolution. One was the church conflict, which mobilized the church as an institution and the Catholic masses against the regime, while liberal opinion—favorable to the disestablishment of the church—openly repudiated the dictator's brutal handling of the issue.

The second was the ill-fated oil contract. Signed by Peron and the California Argentina Oil Company of Delaware, it was to become law by September 30. It is a contract typical of old-fashioned economic and political colonialism and was publicly repudiated by every Argentine political party, with the exception of the Peronists. It aroused public indignation to such a degree that it became a national issue of most extreme urgency.

With the victory of the revolution, the way is now open to a restoration of liberties, a peaceful reevaluation of relations between church and state, and a solution of the oil and power problem based on true national interests. Many other lines of progress have also become possible: the development of a strong, independent, progressive labor movement; an intellectual flowering, with the return from exile—or silence—of the country's intelligentsia; a reappraisal of international relations, mainly with South American countries, from a truly democratic point of view.

The fulfillment of these hopes will rest in the hands not only of the new government, but of the political parties, the workers' organizations, and independent public opinion.

SERGIO BAGU.

Buenos Aires.

Alternatives to Atomic War

Dear Sirs: Because the United Packinghouse Workers of America believe that there can be an end to the tensions which have kept the world divided, and because we believe in trying to end those tensions, District 3 of the U. P. W. A., along with six other organizations, is sponsoring a Conference on Alternatives to Atomic War, to be held in Des Moines, Iowa, at the Willkie House on October 21 and 22.

We extend a heartfelt invitation to any readers of The Nation who live in the Midwest to attend this conference. The registration fee will not exceed $3.00. The major speaker will be Frank P. Graham.

Other groups helping to sponsor the conference are the American Friends Service Committee, Iowa Council of Churches, Iowa Council of United Church Women, Iowa State C. I. O. Council, Hadassah (Des Moines Chapter), and the United World Federalists.

DICK BRUNER
Program Coordinator
U. P. W. A. District 3

Des Moines, Iowa.

Reviewer's Correction

Dear Sirs: Quotation marks should have enclosed the next but last paragraph in my review of John Scott's book in The Nation, September 17, but through an error these were omitted, so that the text appears to be the reviewer's rather than Mr. Scott's. My apologies to the author.

EDGAR SNOW

Palisades, N. Y.

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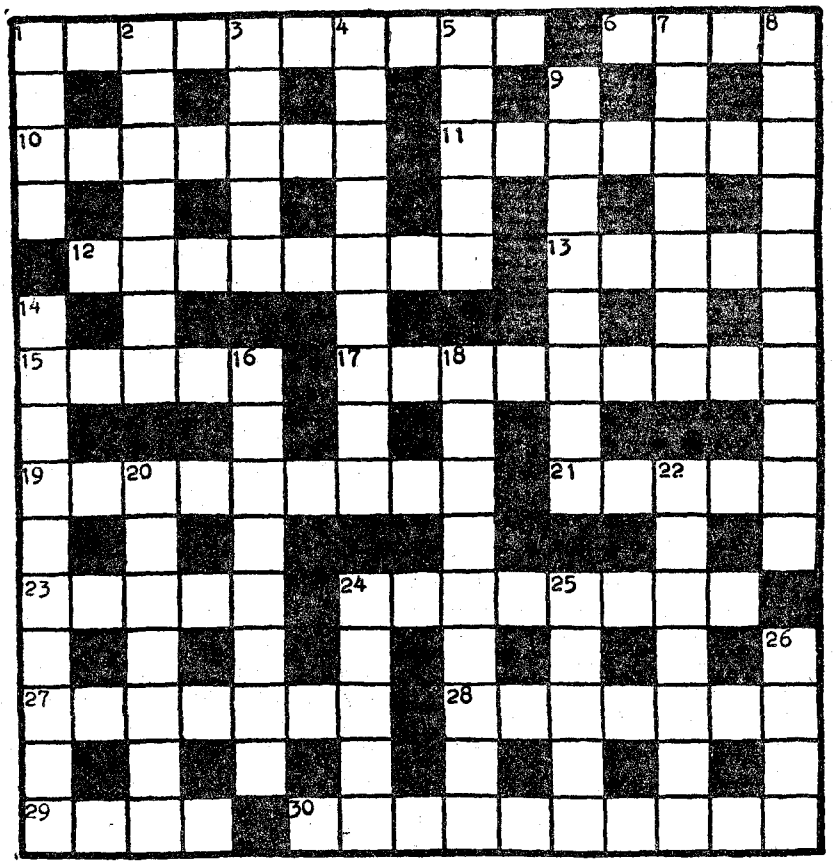
Crossword Puzzle No. 641

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Certainly not a slow way to create lace. (10)
6 Cloud. (4)
10 Proving even a parvenu sort of puts on skill. (7)
11 Trouble in a dynasty, when it comes to getting the letters started. (7)
12 General engineer who confused the inside between the ends. (8)
13 Quite a brilliant feat to have such a large number in to breakfast, perhaps. (5)
15 Just the place for an unnumbered 13 in Germany. (5)
17 High-class Fellow of the Royal Academy, no doubt (3-6)
19 and 21 The way they used to fuss about 5 and 2! (1,7,1,5)
23 Certainly didn't imply a cold ride in Chicago, but there might be plenty of room here. (5)
24 Tires, but probably back of them in cars. (8)
27 The way one makes a finger-wave? (7)
28 Arrangement of duets to offer the most protection. (7)
29 This part of the building is always in a state of collapse. (4)
30 See 3 down.

DOWN

1 Touch an article except this! (4)
2 Suggesting duties are little more than habit? (7)
3 and 30 across It doesn't look like a Cardinal should have the poorest fielding average (5,19)
4 Is a bad act filled with terror? Quite the reverse when it pulls back. (9)
5 Equivalent to X? (5)
7 Eggs in the grass are probably. (4,3)
8 Uniform of the day? (5,5)
9 Embraced the opinions of the party holding the drink? You can still beat it! (4,4)
14 A phone-box I dislike, when it comes to strangers. (10)
16 An open loan of gold at one time. (8)
18 Looking ahead, one might get to hit copper in an unrefined state. (9)
20 Attracts nothing but the nice set, obviously. (7)
22 The old soak expresses pain to remove unnatural effects of detail. (7)
24 One way to break a lease! (5)
25 1 down is by a tuba arrangement (5)
26 What one wouldn't say to a goose or rustic. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 640

ACROSS: 1 and 9 down THE CHILD IS FATHER OF THE MAN; 10 PLEDGES; 11 FLATCAR; 12 WRIGHT BROTHERS; 14 INCENSES; 15 PRESTO; 16 ERASES; 18 SHUFFLER; 22 STENOGRAPHICAL; 24 AMNESIA; 25 IMMENSE; 26 and 23 DOORYARD; 27 MESSENGERS. DOWN: 1 TYPEWRITER; 2 ELEGIAC; 3 HIGHHANDEDNESS; 4 LOSABLE; 5 INFLOW; 7 OXCARTS; 8 and 6 TURNCOAT; 13 LOGROLLERS; 17 ANTONIO; 19 HEAVIES; 20 LICENSE; 21 AGNATE.

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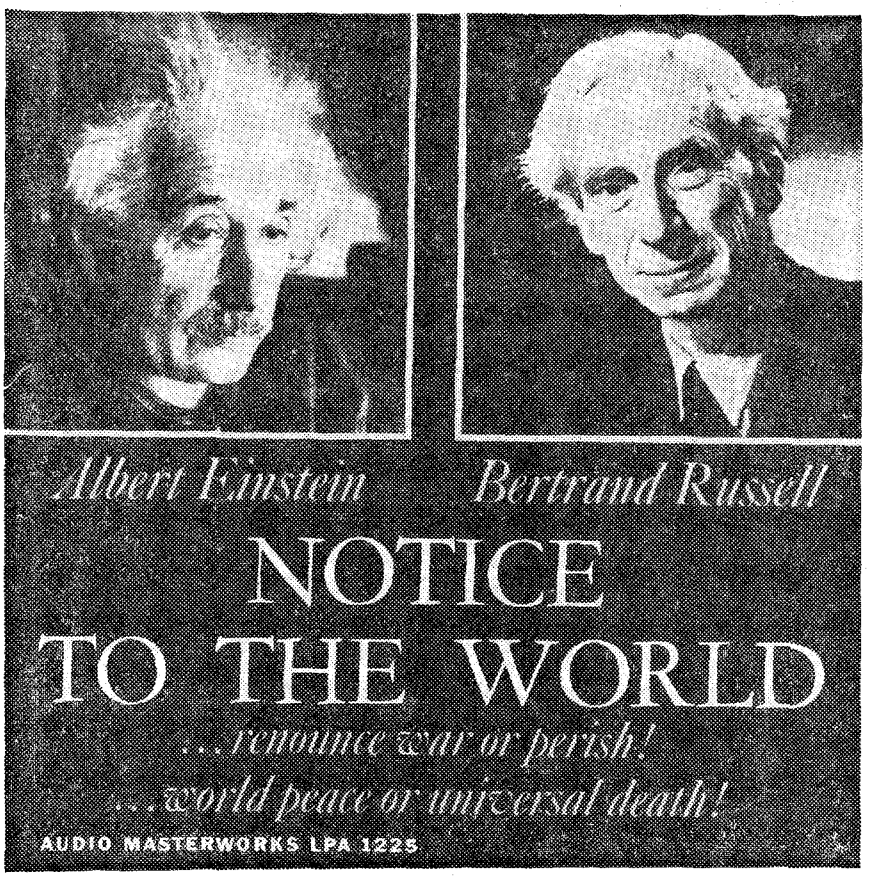

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